4:Grajdanzev--178-179 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosans -1-2
116, 467, 656, 668, 177.66 Japan
636.66

"In October, 1921, Lin Hsien-t'ang, Ts'ai Pei-ho (who was arrested in 1923), Chiang Wei-sui and others organized the Taiwan Bunkakyokai (Taiwan Cultural Society), which very soon became the centre of the national movement among the moderate elements. But in 1926 the Marxist groups made their appearance on the island for the first time when twenty Chinese formed the Taiwan Proletarian Youth League (Taiwan Musan Seinenkai). Since that time the political movement has separated into two branches—the Moderates centered around the Bunka Kyokai and were strongly represented in the Taiwan Agricultural Cooperatives, and the revolutionary Marxist organizations closely connected with the workers union (Taiwan Koyuso remmei), which in 1928 was reported to have had as many as 6,367 members and to have organized several successful strikes. However, after 1928 there began a new era of suppressions and arrests and one after another the Chinese organizations fell victims to it. The Marxist groups were the first to go. In 1931 the Taiwan Koyuso remmei was suppressed and finally in August 1937 even the most moderate movement of the right wing organizations, the purpose of which was the reform of local government, was dissolved on the claim that the government had already realized this reform.

This, of course, does not mean that all these movements were eradicated; they went underground, and continued their struggle, but the government suppression made even moderate groups more radical than they were before. In 1931 Taiwanese in Shanghai reorganized their Taiwan Youth Party into the Anti-imperialist League. It had close

connections with Taiwan, where its members from time to time were rounded [179] up by the police."

15: U.S. Navy--31-32 (no date) 1944 Formosans
116, 467

"During the 1920's, the period of relative liberalism in Japan Proper was reflected in Taiwan. In May, 1924, the first peasant organization was allowed to be formed at Inrin, Taichu province, among the employees of the Rin Hongen Company's sugar plantation workers. In 1925 this union presented three demands to the company. They demanded that prices be announced before the harvest, that a control committee be created to supervise the weighing of the cane and that prices be increased for sugar cane and [32] lowered for fertilizers. An armed clash occurred when the company refused to meet these demands, and as a result fifty union members were sentenced to hard labor."

15: U.S. Navy--32 (no date) 1944 Formosans
116, 467

"In June, 1925, the Ch'en Ch'ung-ho Company in the Takao area rented some of its land to fifty peasants from Shinchiku province, and then rented it again to the Shinko Sugar Company. This latter firm demanded that the peasants either move or take up the cultivation of sugar cane for the company. A union was formed at Hozan, in Takao province, to meet this challenge. This was soon followed by the formation of another union at Taiko in Taichu province. The unions formed at Inrin and Hozan soon influenced workers throughout the island. In 1926 the Hozan and Taiko unions merged to form the Taiwan Nomin-kumiai (Taiwan Peasants' Union). By October 31, 1927, it had branches throughout the island, with four provincial committees, twenty-three branch offices and 24,000 members. It ventured to send a delegation to Japan to petition the Diet on matters of interest and to make contacts with Japanese peasant unions."

15: U.S. Navy--32 [2] (no date) 1944 Formosans
116, 467

"In December 1927 a first Congress of Formosan Peasant Unions was held. Delegates from unions in Japan were present. Proclamations were drawn up stating that the unions intended to be guided by Marxist theory and policies.

In 1927 labor unions were organized among metallurgical, building, mechanical and masonry workers. On February 19, 1928, a Taiwan Federation of Labor (Taiwan Koyuso-renmei) was formed by the affiliation of 29 trade unions, having a total membership of 6367. Much was said of Sun Yat-Sen's Three People's Principles, and attempts were made to obtain betterment of labor conditions, liberalization of labor laws and general political improvement of the status of Taiwan."

15: U.S. Navy--32 [3] (no date) 1944 Formosans
116, 466, 467, 656, 177.46 Japanese
636.46

"In 1931 the upsurge of reactionary power at Tokyo made possible the outbreak of the Manchurian Incident and the stage was set for the war program. Labor leadership, labor organizations and union programs came to an end much more quickly in Taiwan than in Japan Proper. By the end of 1931 everything which smacked of opposition had been suppressed. The employers in the strategic industries, transportation and communications are official or semi-official bodies. Hence there can be no dispute over labor questions."

15: U.S. Navy--32 [4] (no date) 1944 Formosans
116, 177, 467, 369

"No contact appears to have existed between peasant and labor groups. Actually they were in conflict with each other on a number of issues. Peasant unions were closely tied up with the Japanese peasant unions, which had a strong Marxist element motivating them. The urban organizations--the Taiwan Minshuto and various trade unions--accepted the principles of Sun Yat-Sen of China, but were not connected with any organization outside of Taiwan."

15: U.S. Navy--32 [5]
116, 467, 668, 871, 177.87
636.87

(no date) 1944

Formosans
Japanese

"Formosan peasant and trade unions were not organized along class lines, owing perhaps to the essential democracy of the Chinese guild system. Members of the middle and well-to-do classes actively supported the peasants and workers in their agitation for better working conditions and attempted to work for legislation to that end. The biggest handicap to any such movement has been the lack of education for peasants and workers, especially of education which could be gained outside of the Japanese 'National Schools.'"

474 ruthless means of suppression were adopted
427 in the name of internal consolidation. The
668 cases of farmers opposing landlords dropped
671 sharply to 23 cases in 1929, 28 cases in 1930, and 16 cases in 1931. However, the influence of the movement on Formosan society, especially on social relations between landlords and tenants was undeniable. The government sponsored landlord-tenants associations after 1924 were a means to mitigate the tense situation of the time.

• 467 3. Labor Unions: The new social currents also reached factory workers. Labor unions for various trades were organized, and in 1927, 29 local unions were federated into the Taiwan Federation of Workers Unions. At the end of the year participating units increased to 65, and the number of members amounted to 7,861. In 1928 the League of Taiwan Mechanical Workers was organized under separate leadership. Several strikes were directed by the leagues. Both the farmers associations and the worker's unions received co-operation from associations and unions in Japan. Generally speaking, because of the backwardness of Formosan industry at that time, the activity of labor unions was not as conspicuous as that of the farmers. The activity of the union also faded out under the pressure of government suppression in 1929 and 1931. In 1932 almost all labor leaders were arrested, and in 1937, the year

467 Japan started its invasion into North China, even the conservative and harmless Taiwan League for Local Self-Government was ordered disbanded by the government.

III. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AFTER THE RESTORATION

575 Since the restoration of Formosa to China in 1945, the people have been free to form associations of various kinds, provided these associations do no conflict with the anti-Communist policy of the government. Many new organizations have come into being. In the village, the traditional folk associations for religion and for mutual financial aid still exist. Most of the associations established during the Japanese period have been reorganized, with Chinese members replacing the Japanese and the Chinese government assuming control formerly in the hands of the Japanese colonial government. All associations are registered with the Provincial Department of Social Affairs, which supervises their activities. An association may be dissolved or may be compelled to re-elect its officers if found guilty of violating national laws or ordinances.[6]

For administrative purposes, associations

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6. In 1953, 247 organizations were ordered to re-elect their officers, 9 to be reorganized, 8 to suspend their activities, and 1 to be dispersed. Chung-hua Min-kuo Nien-chien

(continued next page)

45:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AD1 Formosa
AD1

•467 Labor Unions were considered revolutionary and banned under the Japanese administration. Upon the restoration of the island to China, labor unions on the Mainland helped the local workers to form unions. Labor unions are of three kinds, occupational, industrial and special. Workers in each trade organize the local units. The locals in a hsien or a municipality unite to form a local labor union. In large-scale industries, which are mostly operated by the government, the staff members and the workers organize a union in each industry. The occupational labor unions and the industrial labor unions unite at the provincial level to form the provincial general labor union. A few occupational unions such as the postal union and the railroad workers unions maintain their own local and provincial organizations. They are the special labor unions. The number of labor unions and their membership at the end of 1954 were as follows:*

	Number of Units	Total Membership
Occupational labor unions	401	111,657
Industrial labor unions	219	231,431
Postal Union	14	2,542

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Railroad workers union	13	22,265
Highway workers union	13	5,121

* The China Annual 1954, Vol. 3, Feb. 1955, p. 89.

Labor unions in Formosa are generally directed by members of the Kuomintang and are subsidized in part by the government. Their main functions are to seek improvements in wages and working hours, to look after the welfare of the workers, and to participate in patriotic activities. The most noteworthy service offered are social security measures which include accident insurance, maternity and life insurance, pensions at retirement, and low-cost housing for workers. Some unions also operate clinics, day nurseries, and co-operative groceries for the benefit of their members.

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Formosa has a long seacoast and over seventy islets. Over 232,000 people are engaged in fishing. The fishermen's associations were formerly controlled by fishing-boat owners and owners of the fish ponds, and funds used in welfare work were derived from a surcharge of the price of fish.

467 Labor Organizations. Labor organizations include trade unions, farmers' associations, and fishermen's associations. Trade unions are weak and cannot be called unions in the real sense of the term, because the law does not provide for effective collective bargaining and also prohibits strikes, shut-downs, and walkouts of any kind during the present emergency period. The trade unions are organized under government supervision and tend to be used for carrying out government policies with respect to the workers. However, the educational and welfare activities performed by the unions should not be overlooked.

461 The Outlook of the Workers. Most of the farmers, as a result of the recent land reform, have become owner-cultivators and are looking forward to owning their own houses, sending their children to school, and enjoying better living conditions. On the other hand, because of limited employment opportunities and low wage levels, the non-agricultural laborers do not appear to face a very promising future.

464 The Future Labor Force. In 1950, the entire male labor force was estimated at 2.1 million. George Barclay states that the male labor force 25 years from now (1980) could amount to about 4 million, assuming that the

463 208 The reason for the "worse" answers were found to be overpopulation, more competition, more unemployment, and low income. More United States aid, possible reconquest of the Mainland, and more employment were given as reasons why conditions might improve.

V. LABOR ORGANIZATIONS

467 The Limited Role of Trade Unions. Although Article 5 of the Labor Union Law (revised) of January 7, 1949, states: "The functions of a labor union are as follows: (A) to conclude, revise, or abolish any agreement or contract on behalf of the members...," the trade unions in Formosa function principally as a medium of political education and undertake limited welfare activities on behalf of their members.

During the Japanese occupation unionization was banned by the Government-General. At that time most of the workers were not sufficiently educated or aggressive enough to form unions. Despite the National Government's attempts to encourage unionization, in view of the existing emergency conditions, trade unions are not permitted to exercise their bargaining power. The government has undertaken to train union officials. At the same time, government promotional and

467 supervisory personnel and labor-relations specialists are sent to the unions. Consequently, trade unions tend to be used for carrying out government policies among the workers.

The Organizational System. The administrative hierarchy of trade unions in Formosa consists of the Chinese Federation of Labor at the national level, the Taiwan Federation of Labor at the provincial level, and hsien federations and city general labor unions. As basic level units, there are the city and hsien locals, which make up the city general labor unions and hsien federations respectively. The locals are classified into industrial unions, occupational unions, and special unions. At the beginning of 1943, there were 288 occupational locals and 57 industrial locals in the whole province.[26] As of 1953, occupational unions included 58 trades, such as printing, trucking, painting, baking, pedicab operators, mechanics, dockworkers, canning, electricity, barbers, tea-processing, etc. The membership of industrial unions primarily comprises workers,

26. China News Press, T'ai-wan Ching-chi Nien-pao, 1953 [Annual of Taiwan's Economy, 1953], Taipei, 1953, p. 174.

467 from large factories and mines. Special unions include railroad workers, postal workers, and salt miners; each of these has a federation at the provincial level in addition to the locals.

The Fishermen's Association and Farmers' Association are independent of the federation systems. The former has been instrumental in co-operating with the provincial government and United States aid agencies in making low-interest loans to fishermen and loans of fishing boats, rationing of cloth and rice, establishing medical stations, improving fish markets, etc.

VI. LABOR RELATIONS

466 Paternalism: Paternalism, in the Oriental sense of the word, concedes full authority to the head of the family and exacts complete loyalty and obedience from family members. In Formosa, the owner or manager of a plant is referred to as "Lao Pan" -- meaning, the owner. Lao Pan is also the term used for "master" or "ship's master," and it carries the connotation of complete domination not only over the use of fixed property but also over the person or persons employed on the premises. The lives and working conditions of the workers are largely, if not completely, dependent upon the whims of the master.

466 Some employers have strongly opposed unionization because in their opinion their own beneficence outweighs any advantages that may be offered by union membership. Any grievances which the workers may have must be handled with extreme care and diplomacy on the part of the workers, or else be interpreted by the employer as a display of disrespect or disloyalty.

467 Labor Welfare Measures. Each of the city general labor unions and hsien federations has a "Labor Welfare Committee" with the function of improving living conditions and mitigating the hardship imposed by the low wages. For instance, there is a "Labor Clinic" in the Keelung City General Labor Union and the Hsien Federations of Labor of Taichung, Hsinchu, Yilan, Chiayi, and Taoyuan.[27] Also, union stores which sell daily necessities to the members at a lower price are very popular. Various enterprises and employers also undertake to provide recreation and medical facilities, daily necessities at a lower price, mutual aid funds, etc. As an example, a government-owned cigarette manufacturing factory has a clinic of its own, and provides welfare facilities such as a day nursery, a laundry shop, cold drink stands, a barber shop, public baths, etc.

The income of the trade unions, derived mainly from membership fees, has been limited

27 Ibid.

467 because of the low income of the workers. For this reason welfare work carried out by the unions has not been able to meet the workers' needs. Although some government-owned enterprises provide satisfactory welfare facilities, generally speaking, most employers lack the financial means to make satisfactory provisions.